

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0255

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS JUNE 4 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED IN GENERAL TERMS THE FOLLOWING OUTLINE FOR USE BY UK REP (ROSE) IN MAKING AHG REPORT TO NAC ON JUNE 6. ROSE WILL BE ASSISTED BY THE LUXEMBOURG REP (WINTER) AND BY THE ITALIAN DEP REP (TALIANI). ROSE WILL DRAW ON MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE, NOT NECESSARILY USING IT IN FULL. UNLIKE WRITTEN REPORTS TO NAC, THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT ATTEMPT A WORD FOR WORD APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED AS SPEAKING NOTES. ATTENTION IS DRAWN TO PARAS 4(II)(C) AND 8(III) CONCERNING RECENT EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE FORM OF THE REDUCTIONS COMMITMENT WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL BE PREPARED TO GIVE IN PHASE II. END SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT:

COVERAGE

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1. THIS REPORT COVERS THE PERIOD FROM THE START OF THE 6TH ROUND WITH THE PLENARY SESSION ON 16 MAY UNTIL 5 JUNE. SINCE THE LAST VISIT BY AN AD HOC GROUP TEAM ON 18 APRIL, THE COUNCIL HAVE RECEIVED A WRITTEN REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE FUTURE PROSPECTS. THIS WAS PREPARED BY THE AD HOC GROUP IN ANTICIPATION OF THE RECENT NATO MINISTERIAL MEETINGS.

2. IN BROAD TERMS, THERE IS LITTLE TO ADD TO THE 20 MAY REPORT. TODAY'S REPORT WILL INEVITABLY CONTAIN SOME OVERLAP, SINCE THE FIRST THREE WEEKS OF THE 6TH ROUND HAVE NOT BEEN MARKED BY ANY MAJOR DEVELOPMENT. SO FAR THERE HAVE BEEN THREE PLENARY STATEMENTS BY THE EAST AND TWO BY THE WEST, AND THREE INFORMAL MEETINGS. THERE HAVE BEEN NO NEW INITIATIVES FROM EITHER SIDE AND THERE WERE NO OUTSTANDING EASTERN INITIATIVES FROM THE PREVIOUS ROUND REQUIRING A WESTERN RESPONSE. HOPES FOR AN EARLY DATA DISCUSSION ARE UNLIKELY TO BE REALISED.

3. PRINCIPLE WESTERN THEMES

(1) IN THE TWO WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS WE HAVE CONTINUED TO EXPOUND DETAILS OF THE WESTERN PROPOSALS ON FAMILIAR LINES. WE HAVE NOT SO FAR INTRODUCED ANY NEW ARGUMENTS BUT WE HAVE PRESSED THE EAST TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE VARIOUS WESTERN INITIATIVES TAKEN DURING THE PAST YEAR, E.G. THE NO-INCREASE OFFER FOR AIR FORCE MANPOWER AND THE PROPOSAL FOR A DATA EXCHANGE.

(11) IN INFORMAL MEETINGS WE HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THREE MAIN THEMES:-

(A) EMPHASIS ON THE BENEFITS THE EAST WILL SECURE FROM ANY AGREEMENT. ADVANTAGES TO THE EAST OF ACCEPTING AN AGREEMENT ON THE LINES PROPOSED BY THE WEST.

(B) EFFORTS TO SECURE EASTERN ACCEPTANCE OF THE GENERAL PROPOSITION THAT BOTH SIDES MUST
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CONSIDER THE TOTAL EFFECTS OF ANY AGREEMENT ON THEIR SECURITY AND TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE EASTERN PROPOSALS WOULD DIMINISH THE SECURITY OF THE WEST. ARGUMENTS BASED ON THE CONTRACTUALISATION OF EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN GROUND FORCES WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM EASTERN PROPOSALS AND THE ADVANTAGE WHICH THE EAST WOULD DERIVE FROM THE CONTIGUITY OF THE SOVIET

UNION TO THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

(C) CONTINUED PRESSURE FOR EASTERN AGREEMENT TO AN EXCHANGE OF DATA. EMPHASIS ON THE INTEREST WHICH BOTH SIDES HAVE IN ESTABLISHING THE FACTS ABOUT THE SECURITY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. INSISTENCE THAT A DATA EXCHANGE WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS OF EITHER SIDE. IT COULD BE CONDUCTED IN PARALLEL WITH THE DISCUSSION OF OTHER TOPICS; IT WOULD NOT BE A PRE-CONDITION FOR SUCH A DISCUSSION, NOR WOULD WE ATTACH ANY PRE-CONDITIONS TO AN EXCHANGE OF DATA.

4. PRINCIPAL EASTERN THEMES

(1) IN PLENARY STATEMENTS THE EAST HAVE CONTRASTED THE MERITS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSALS AND THE INITIATIVES TAKEN BY THE EAST WITH THE LACK OF FLEXIBILITY SHOWN BY THE WEST. ONE STATEMENT CONTAINED, FOR THE FIRST TIME, A LENGTHY AND REASONED CASE FOR INCLUDING AIR FORCES IN REDUCTIONS, BASED ON THE ARGUMENT THAT AIR FORCES HAD NOT ONLY INITIATED MOST RECENT MILITARY CONFLICTS BUT HAD TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT DETERMINED THEIR SUBSEQUENT COURSE.

(11) IN INFORMAL MEETINGS THE EAST HAVE CONCENTRATED ON THE FOLLOWING MAIN THEMES:-

(A) CRITICISM OF THE WESTERN APPROACH FOR FAILING TO PLACE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON THE ARMS RACE SINCE IT LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF UNRESTRAINED INCREASES IN AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. THIS

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HAS BEEN A CONSTANT THEME OF ALL EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES, COUPLED WITH THE DEMAND FOR INCLUSION OF ARMAMENTS AND OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES IN REDUCTIONS FROM THE OUTSET.

(B) EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO SETTLE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES BEFORE DISCUSSING DATA. CLAIM THAT DATA NOT REQUIRED FOR DECIDING WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET OR WHAT FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED. ATTACK ON WEST FOR MAKING DATA EXCHANGE A PRE-CONDITION FOR PROGRESS ON OTHER ISSUES.

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(C) CONTINUED INSISTENCE ON THE DEMAND THAT ALL PARTICIPANTS SHOULD FROM THE OUTSET ACCEPT PRECISE OBLIGATIONS AS TO THE SCOPE AND TIMING OF THEIR REDUCTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO WESTERN REJECTION OF THIS DEMAND, EASTERN PRESSURE FOR INDIVIDUAL WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TO SAY WHAT SPECIFIC REDUCTIONS EACH WILL UNDERTAKE IN HASE II IN ORDER TO REACH THE COMMON CEILING. THE EAST HAVE PRESSED IN PARTICULAR TO KNOW WHETHER, ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT A PHASE I AGREEMENT WERE IN FACT CONCLUDED ON THE LINES FORESEEN BY THE ALLIES, EACH OF THE NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD THEN BE WILLING TO UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II AS TO THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF ITS REDUCTIONS. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE HAD SOME DIFFICULTY IN REPLYING TO THIS QUESTION ON THE BASIS OF EXISTING GUIDANCE; AND THE EAST HAVE CLAIMED THAT WESTERN RELUCTANCE TO REPLY IN THE AFFIRMATIVE, EVEN IN SUCH HYPOTHETICAL CIRCUMSTANCES, REPRESENTS A RETREAT FROM WHAT THE WEST HAS ALREADY SAID ON THIS SUBJECT. THIS IS EVIDENTLY A POINT ON WHICH THE EAST THINK THE
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WEST ARE VULNERABLE AND THEY ARE LIKELY TO
CONTINUE TO PRESS IT.

5. BILATERALS

AT THE END OF THE LAST ROUND, SEVERAL INDICATIONS WERE GIVEN BY EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES THAT EAST WOULD BE READY TO EMBARK ON A DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS AND DATA AT START OF 6TH ROUND. THESE SIGNALS APPEARED TO BE QUITE DELIBERATE. MOST BILATERALS THIS ROUND SO FAR DIRECTED TO DISCOVERING EASTERN INTENTIONS. ON DATA, THE EASTERN RESPONSE HAS GENERALLY BEEN WHOLLY NEGATIVE, IN EFFECT A BLAND DENIAL THAT ANY SUCH SIGNALS WERE GIVEN. ON DEFINITIONS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ADMITTED POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSION. THE SOVIET MILITARY ADVISER, WHO GAVE THE MOST DEFINITE SIGNAL IN THE LAST ROUND, HAS FOLLOWED UP IN THIS ROUND WITH SOME SPECIFIC COMMENTS ON OUR COUNTING METHODS. BUT EVEN HE HAS BACKTRACKED ON PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO EMBARK ON DISCUSSIONS LEADING TO A DATA EXCHANGE, SAYING ONLY THAT DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS COULD BEGIN IN INFORMALS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. SO FAR THIS HAS NOT BEEN REFLECTED IN THE LINE TAKEN BY EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE INFORMAL MEETINGS. IN NEARLY ALL BILATERALS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY ARE WAITING FOR THE WEST TO COME FORWARD WITH SOME MAJOR NEW PROPOSAL.

6. PRESS AND PUBLICITY

COVERAGE OF MBFR IN THE WESTERN PRESS SO FAR THIS ROUND HAS BEEN MEAGRE, AND MOSTLY SUBSUMED IN ARTICLES ON, E.G., THE NATO SUMMIT, PROSPECTS FOR CSCE ETC. NO SPECIAL CAMPAIGN BY EASTERN MEDIA, ON LINES OF THAT CONDUCTED IN THE LAST ROUND, HAS BEEN NOTED. THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPRESENTATIVE HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE ON 16 MAY: IT CONTAINED NOTHING NEW AND EXCITED MINIMAL INTEREST. THE AD HOC GROUP DECIDED THAT THERE WAS NO CALL FOR AN ALLIED PRESS CONFERENCE.

7. ASSESSMENT

THE EAST SEEM CONTENT TO PLAY A WAITING GAME FOR THE TIME BEING. INDIVIDUAL REPRESENTATIVES HAVE AS GOOD AS ADMITTED
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THIS IN BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS. THEY ALMOST CERTAINLY EXPECT THAT THE NEXT STEP BY THE WEST WILL BE THE OFFER OF A NUCLEAR PACKAGE. MEANWHILE IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THEY WILL MAKE ANY SUBSTANTIVE MOVE, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL CONTINUE TO EXPLOIT WHAT

THEY CLAIM AS WEAKNESSES IN THE WESTERN POSITION, E.G., THE THEMES DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 4 ABOVE. THEY MAY ALSO SUGGEST A DISCUSSION OF DEFINITIONS OF ARMAMENTS AS WELL AS MANPOWER IN ORDER TO PRESS THEIR CASE FOR INCLUDING IN REDUCTIONS ALL TYPES OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY EXCHANGE OF DATA APPEAR REMOTE. IT IS TOO SOON IN THE ROUND TO RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME SURPRISE EASTERN INITIATIVE, INTENDED FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES, BUT, AS IN THE LAST ROUND, SUCH AN INITIATIVE, IF FORTHCOMING, IS UNLIKELY TO BE SUBSTANTIAL.

8. CONCLUSIONS

(I) GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AS TO PROSPECTS AND REQUIREMENTS REMAIN AS IN THE 20 MAY REPORT.

(II) ALTHOUGH NO EARLY EXCHANGE OF DATA IS LIKELY TO TAKE PLACE, ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD CONTINUE TO EXPLOIT PRESENT EASTERN WEAKNESS BY PRESSING FOR ONE. THIS WEAKNESS MAY HOWEVER BE ONLY SHORT TERM. SHOULD THERE BE A COMPREHENSIVE EXCHANGE OF DATA, INCLUDING ARMAMENTS, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE WEST NOT TO GIVE A POSITIVE RESPONSE. WE WOULD HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO COMMENT ON OR RECIPROCATATE ANY DATA THEY TABLED.

(III) THE AD HOC GROUP WILL ALSO NEED GUIDANCE ON HOW TO ANSWER THE QUESTIONS THE EAST HAVE RECENTLY RAISED ABOUT THE FORM OF THE REDUCTIONS COMMITMENT WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL BE PREPARED TO GIVE IN PHASE II. THE COUNCIL GUIDANCE OF 16 APRIL DOES NOT DEAL WITH THIS POINT. IF WE ARE TO IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS FOR SELLING THE TWO PHASE APPROACH, WE SHALL NEED TO BE ABLE TO GIVE MORE SPECIFIC ASSURANCES TO THE EAST. THE AD HOC GROUP WILL BE SUBMITTING A WRITTEN REQUEST TO THE COUNCIL AND, SINCE THE SUBJECT IS ONE THE EAST ARE LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO PRESS, HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO
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PROVIDE EARLY GUIDANCE.

(IV) THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD WELCOME THE COMPLETION OF ALLIANCE STUDIES ON THE QUESTION OF FLANK SECURITY.

9. NEXT AD HOC GROUP REPORT

PROPOSED THAT THE NEXT REPORT TO THE COUNCIL SHOULD BE ON 27 JUNE. END TEXT.RESOR

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